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INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN LATIN AMERICA:  
EXPERIENCES, PROSPECTS AND NEW RESEARCH DIRECTIONS.

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I. Introduction.

Potentials for rural development in general depend on both a physical resource base and the organization of human activity to take advantage of and utilize those resources. Unfortunately, in large parts of Latin America the organization of production efforts is badly skewed toward large enterprises and is ineffectual for providing an adequate living for large numbers of small farmers. While the idea of small rural industry related to rural needs should not be overlooked, basically the potential for rural development in Latin America lies in agricultural pursuits. This paper will be concerned principally with describing and evaluating programs aimed at improving small farm agricultural production and levels of living through a wide range of activities and with attempts to integrate and focus these activities in a way that is meaningful to the small farmer.

II. A Background of Experiences

Over the last two decades a substantial number of rural development efforts have been undertaken in many countries around the world and a good deal of experience and knowledge has been accumulated on individual aspects of such development. A good review of the scope of these efforts and their activities can be found in a recent A/D/C reprint by A.T. Mosher. (1) These experiments have incorporated a wide range of development schemes into their plans which have been based on the introduction of new technology and/or community organization. Unfortunately, most of these programs have reached relatively few farmers and have only been able to do so at a fairly high price per farmer benefited.

One thing that has been learned is that effective linkages between increases in productivity, employment and income distribution are not automatic consequences of growth in production. These linkages usually need to be created through specific policy measures inducing structural changes which emphasize, co-ordinate, and create the supporting institutions necessary for small individual family farms to progress. Experience further suggests that when institutional structures are not changed, the income benefits arising from the use of new technology are likely to enrich those who already control the bulk of national agricultural resources while peasant farmers fall further and further behind.

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To prevent this from occurring, government, service and marketing institutions usually need to be reformed so that inputs and the knowledge of how to use them can become more widely available. Credit, fertilizer, and market and technical information need to be presented in combinations relevant to a farmer's situation and by people who understand his motivations and actions. Such institutional reorganization is extremely difficult to achieve and has rarely taken place for a number of reasons related to the orientation and Parochial outlook of programs, professionals, and administrators as well as to inflexible administrative procedures and bureaucracy.

Much of the documentation on past experiences in rural development is based on pilot projects, isolated research, and usually encompass at the most only a few elements of the whole system which is to be affected. The chosen elements are, of course, the ones thought to be especially crucial or the ones the particular researcher or agency has been interested in manipulating and studying. Recommendations have often been extrapolated from these partial experiences and have tended to be long on policy suggestions and generalizations but short on the actual methodology of how to carry out a rural development program. This information can be found in the ample literature dealing with various approaches to improving the rural situation. It is possible to note certain emphases in attacking the rural development problem and the following seem to be major foci of these efforts:

- 1) Extension
- 2) Supervised credit
- 3) Colonization
- 4) Land and agrarian reform

These various approaches are not mutually exclusive either chronologically or in the principles involved in their methodology and program development. A brief comment on each of the above will serve to indicate what seem to have been successes and shortcomings in each approach.

1) Extension. Many of the organizational aspects of extension efforts in Latin America have resulted from an attempt to bring about a wholesale transfer of extension philosophy and methodology from the United States. At the heart of these programs is a notion that the basic task is one of communication and persuasion. While this may be appropriate to modern agriculture in an industrial nation where people are more highly educated and more widely experienced in entrepreneurial functions, it ignores the economic, institutional and other situational constraints that tend to limit the utility of such strictly informational and/or educational programs for a majority of the farmers in developing

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areas. The tendency has been to see the modernization process primarily as one in which modern technology is transferred to backward nations, (or backward sectors of nations) without considering that development is principally a process through which ideas emerge and are tested and adapted within the specific problematic situation of a particular region or nation. For this reason many of the recommendations of rural community outsiders, be they foreigners or nationals, have been irrelevant to local conditions and have, of necessity, failed to have much impact. These failures have tended to be repetitive since foreign assistance has generally included little in the way of evaluation or research in designing program approaches.

The extension programs which appear to be most effective are those which provide a package of services to the farmer. These have generally been associated with a commodity program for a product that is industrialized (sugar beet in Chile) or exported (coffee in Colombia). The strength of such programs is based upon an assured market and supply of an input package and technological information. While this type of program can be effective with a crop necessitating central processing, it is more difficult to introduce a similar approach for the staple food stuffs such as corn, beans or potatoes, etc., that a majority of traditional farmers grow.

2) Supervised Credit. Supervised credit programs usually endeavour to bring institutional credit to the small farm agricultural sector and at the same time to stress the educational aspect of extension by supervising the use of this credit. Often such programs have been organized as crash programs to bring about rapid change assuming that, with some knowledge and limited credit, rapid improvements could be effected in the small farm sector. Unfortunately, this approach usually disregards the problem of bottlenecks in the delivery of credit, whether it be in the form of cash or physical inputs, and in the provision of relevant production information. The lack of such inputs and markets has contributed substantially to the limited expectations of most small farmers in Latin America and the lack of any widespread success in credit programs.

Recent evaluations of various credit programs have shown that little has been accomplished by supervised credit programs alone in altering the conditions of farmers in the low income sectors of developing countries. If supervised credit programs are not combined with a general program of economic development which includes public works, education, technical assistance, storage and marketing facilities, etc., the result appears to be that farmers remain dependent upon a continuous supervised credit program which very quickly can take on an aura of welfare. It becomes principally a way of providing short-run assistance to small farmers without changing output expectations and with little change in physical output results.

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3) Colonization. Colonization has been thought by some people to be a solution to the minifundia and low income problems of those Latin American countries that still have large expanses of unsettled territory. Most present day colonization programs and their support seem to be related in one way or another to pressures for agrarian and land reform. Experience with various kinds of colonization programs ranges from spontaneous settlement where no support is given to the settlers to a few projects where a full range of assistance has been given including help in clearing the land, providing homes, and making available services and facilities. Directed settlement is an exceedingly expensive undertaking requiring an inordinate amount of national resources, both financial and professional, in relation to the number of farmers it can service. Spontaneous colonisation, on the other hand, lacking any kind of structuring, is less costly but tends to leave farmers very much in the same position economically as they were before except in very exceptional cases. Much of such colonization has been an outright failure.

Receiving more land may be a necessary condition to improve the lot of many farmers in Latin America but it is not the only factor involved in improving farm incomes and may be of less importance than has generally been assumed by some of the advocates of colonisation and agrarian reform.

4) Land and Agrarian Reform. Another postulated solution to the problem of maldistribution of income in the agricultural sector has been that of land reform. Such reorganization is intended to serve the function of transferring land ownership directly or indirectly to those who actually work the land. Land reform has usually been achieved in practice only after prolonged political struggles and sometimes only after blood shed. Experience in those countries where land reform has been carried out, however, indicates that of and by itself, land reform does not create the conditions required for a "big step forward". In fact, the conditions created in the wake of land reform have, in certain cases, become serious obstacles to development and productivity has actually declined.

In Latin America, land reform has seldom achieved its objectives of increasing the production of the farming masses and assuring their more equitable participation in the growth of their national economies. There are certain very understandable reasons for this. One is that land reform has not been accompanied by all the other steps necessary to achieve development. Peasants and estate workers, for the most part, have not acquired the skills, knowledge and capabilities required to manage, by themselves, the land they have been given or have taken. Ownership of land does not create an independent entrepreneur capable

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of operating a viable farm. To become this, the peasant farmer needs a supporting system that will help him develop self-confidence and supply him with the services and the knowledge that hitherto had been the prerogative of estate owners and managers.

A number of the Latin American agrarian reform programs acknowledge the need for more than mere land reform and speak of a more comprehensive "Agrarian Reform" in which the most important elements in the man-land equation are the worker or peasant himself and the supporting services available to him rather than the land he farms. The limited success and the failures of many land and agrarian reform programs are attributable to the same lack in operational methodology, understanding and trained personnel to carry on such programs that plague small farm development efforts. In either case, the ways and means of developing qualified operators of family sized farms, for identifying the proper technological improvements and combinations of inputs, and for establishing the necessary institutions and services at the community level are of prime importance.

### III. Integrated Rural Development Project Experiences and Issues.

1) The Puebla Project. The forerunner of many of the present integrated rural development projects in Latin America was the Puebla Project in Mexico. (2) The project, which is now just over five years old, is an attempt to bring about substantial increases in the production of corn on small non-irrigated farms by introducing new technology at a cost which a developing country can afford to pay. While it was not the first or only attempt to work with small farmers in non-irrigated areas, it has served to inspire similar efforts in other countries in the region. Part of the reason for this has been that young agronomists from countries such as Peru and Colombia have come to study at the Chapingo School of Agriculture and been influenced by Dr. Leobardo Jimenez, present Director of the school, and by some members of CIMMYT staff (Centro Internacional de Mejoramiento de Maiz y Trigo) who were active in developing the program.

The strategy envisioned in the project is essentially a simultaneous and integrated attack on the many problems limiting farmer use of adequate production technology. Program activities are expected to rapidly introduce any of the following ingredients for change that may be lacking in the area:

- a) high yielding maize varieties,
- b) information on optimal production practices,
- c) effective communication of agronomic information to farmers and agricultural leaders,
- d) adequate supplies of agronomic inputs at easily accessible points at times when they are needed.

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- e) crop insurance,
- f) favourable relationships between input costs and crop values,
- g) adequate production credit at a reasonable rate of interest, and
- h) accessible markets with a stable price for maize.

The organizational philosophy of the Puebla project envisages the discovery and dissemination of information as an integrated effort in which there is constant interaction and feedback. The program seeks to conduct applied research on farmers' fields and to convince farmers to use a package of improved practices. It works closely with political leaders, agricultural agencies and suppliers of agronomic inputs. The action program is directed by a team of well-trained scientists and field workers who live and work in the project area and co-operate closely with each other in carrying out the field trials, demonstrations, farm meetings, etc., that are needed to achieve the goals of the program.

Initially it was hoped that a specific model could be defined and field tested. It soon became apparent, however, that success or failure within the overall strategy would depend on a large number of subjective and 'ad hoc' decisions taken within the context of a fairly flexible structure. It was recognized that the kinds of decisions needed would require highly developed skills in giving appropriate weighting to various factors at different points in time. The only way that this decision-making aspect could be taken into a model would be to recognize that a basic requirement is to select staff who have both the vision, initiative and personality characteristics needed to work well in a group effort and adequate basic training in the discipline for which they will have primary responsibility. Equally important is the ability to identify opportunities and limiting factors and, especially in the case of the co-ordinator, the ability to make prompt decisions on priorities.

Unfortunately, while the principles on which the Puebla project was established are admirable, and the staff very capable, the project has not achieved its 5 year target of an 80% adoption rate for the new technological package being offered and a 100% increase in corn production. The initial response was very encouraging but adoption rates then leveled off and after four years only 18% of the area planted in corn in the region was influenced by the project and only 11% of the farm family heads had adopted the new technology. Yields of corn also failed to reach the target levels.

The reasons for these less than anticipated results are being sought and evaluated very carefully in order to determine what can be learned from past experience regarding the improvement of rural development programs. Some of the questions which are being asked in order to evaluate

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and reorient the Puebla project are:

- was the package offered to the farmers the right one?
- what level of risk was involved?
- was a critical link in support activities ineffectual or omitted?
- what were the attitudes of farmers toward the team members and vice versa?
- is the number of adoptions of new technology a satisfactory measure of the success or failure of a development effort?
- were the targets set in the first place realistic?
- was corn as important in the farmers' total income as was supposed?
- did the opportunity for off-farm employment activities have any effect?

Similar problems are being faced by Puebla-inspired Rural Development projects in other Latin American countries and in response to the need for a coherent understanding of research and programing priorities, a workshop seminar was organized to discuss and define some of the relevant issues.

2) Issues at the First International Seminar on Latin American Rural Development Projects. This seminar took place in September 1972 in Bogota, Colombia and brought together field staff from 12 rural development projects and 6 different Latin American countries. Two contrasting viewpoints on the strategy of rural development were evident from the Seminar discussions. One, basically the Puebla approach, held that increased agricultural production through the introduction of appropriate new technology was the major key to rural development. The other, represented chiefly by Colombians, presented arguments for a broader approach which in addition to new technology involved a social welfare function. It assumed that new technology had only a limited income effect by itself and that positive efforts were needed to improve levels of living and income distribution through infrastructural changes and education.

Some similarities and differences were noted in all the projects under discussion. They were all concerned with traditional minifundia areas which lacked resources of land, capital, education and other inputs. All were trying to mobilize technical, physical and human resources to accomplish changes that would ultimately lead to higher rural incomes. All shared the view that the way to provide this increased income had to be through increased agricultural production based on new technology applied and tested at the local level under small farm conditions. In order to have a significant impact this new technology



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needed to be rapidly introduced on a majority of the farms in a project area. All projects concurred on the importance of co-ordination and co-operation between institutions, producers and technicians working together towards the goal of rural development.

Differences noted were often the result of varying ecological conditions and agricultural production systems between countries and regions. The needs of people in various projects also varied. There was some variation in organization and operation of projects and differing opinions on the methodology of approaching and working with farmers through group formation and in their scope of activities. Some projects used credit as an integral part of their program while others were dependent for credit on an outside institution thus requiring special co-ordination. Various levels of integration into national, regional and local programs were evident. Only one project, the El Salvador Fundacion Promotora de Cooperativas, was a private effort.

The seminar highlighted a number of priorities and problems involved in working out approaches to bringing about change on small farms by means of integrated rural development projects. Prominent amongst these were the following:

- 1) Government support for rural development projects is fundamental for their effective operation. In the absence of this support the necessary inter-agency co-operation is unlikely to be achieved and it becomes difficult if not impossible, to provide the wide range of services necessary for a broad spectrum development involving roads, health, marketing, production, education, etc. In the five countries which have Puebla-type projects at the present time, the strongest national support appears to exist in Colombia and Peru. In both of these countries this type of project is being considered as the basis for future national agricultural extension activities.

An example of attempting rural development projects independent of the national institutional structure is provided by the project in El Salvador whose success in motivating farmers and thus increasing corn production led to a considerable over-supply with a consequent market collapse. Production activities were not integrated with the credit structure and market organization in the country and the project was not supported by the government. Possibly in a country such as Colombia, where there is strong national support for this type of project, similar efforts could be developed by non-Government agencies. Government support for the objectives of such projects would appear to be absolutely essential if they are to become more than minuscule pilot projects.

- 2) Trained leaders possessing the proper motivation and empathy for working with farm people are essential for the success of this type of program. Many of the field staff actively directing present Latin American R.D.P.'s have received training in Mexico and been imbued with the Puebla philosophy. This philosophy involves more than a package of working techniques and it appears that both the attitude and the empathy toward farmers which are found in the Puebla team have been transferrable to other Latin Americans training with them.
- 3) In-service training for new project team members to augment prior preparation is being developed in Colombia in particular. It is one thing to teach about various aspects of rural development in the classroom but quite another to experience it in the field in association with people who are involved in action programs. Benefit could be derived from exchanges between project teams and between specialists from various teams to give them a chance to compare their various experiences and methodology. Colombia is planning the organization of such exchanges among its 6 present projects each one of which has been working on some original ideas in approach and methodology.
- 4) A weakness on the training side in all projects, except for Puebla, is the lack of a close relationship with national training institutions. Most faculties of agronomy and veterinary science (social science faculties such as economics have been only peripherally involved to date) conduct their training programs based on models that were handed down to them some years ago by foreign advisers. As a result, most students are not being trained for a world in which they will have to deal with small farmers' problems. Rural development projects are beginning to provide the sort of information which could enable the Universities to train people more able to help the small farmer. However, unless the Universities become more closely associated with these projects a dialogue can not be established and it will constantly be necessary to provide additional specialized training and career reorientation for graduates before they can begin participating in rural development projects.
- 5) A related situation applies to national agricultural research activities. Most of these activities are directed towards providing information for large farms and plantation agriculture in spite of the fact that pressures for agrarian reform suggest the future of large farms in many parts of Latin America is questionable. Since the best researchers' career prospects frequently depend on the number of papers that they publish,

and their training has been large farm problem oriented, they prefer to work on the level lands and uniform conditions of experimental farms rather than on the hillsides and difficult conditions where small farmers make their living.

An essential component of the rural development projects has been their on-farm research activities which have served both to provide information and to convince farmers, by involving them in the work, of the advantages of changes in technology. Most of this research has been carried out by young agronomists with limited research experience and little or no support from national research organizations. Indeed, in some cases, departments of research have resented extension and development service personnel engaging in research activities. It is essential that this situation be changed if high quality research is to be put into rural development programs.

- 6) Rural development project research methodology is currently weak in some sectors. This is particularly true in the Home Economics and livestock fields where project activities so far have been little more than the traditionalistic extension approach without trying to define in a more precise way the potential impact of their program activities. There are, however, major difficulties in carrying out on-farm research programs, especially with livestock, since the small farmer frequently possesses only one or two cows and two or three pigs which makes replication and control groups impossible.

A solution to this problem might be found in research designed to simulate small farm conditions so that appropriate data can be extrapolated from these conditions rather than from modern experimental farm conditions which frequently bear little relationship to small farms. In the agronomy sector, where research methodology is more advanced, work is needed on problems of how to design and evaluate experiments related to the improvement of little understood "associated cropping" practices so commonly encountered in the small farm agriculture of Latin America.

- 7) A better understanding of evaluation programs is needed. This has been a major lacking element in prior rural development efforts since any dynamic program needs to continually scrutinize not only its results but its stated goals as well. In some cases evaluators appear to be evaluating on the basis of their own sense of values and to have a limited understanding of farmer's motivations. More thought needs to be given to how much and in what ways attempts should be made to influence these motivations in association with the introduction of new agricultural practices.

- 8) Delivery systems for getting information to small farmers do not appear to be very clearly understood. Traditional extension philosophy has not been successful but what method of communication can be successful has not yet been fully defined. Rural development project teams are experimenting with a number of ways of improving this situation including saturation advertising and group activities. One thing is clear, however, it is imperative to ensure that project outreach staff are attempting to deliver an acceptable package of goods. This has not always been the case.
- 9) The need for strong interagency linkages is stressed repeatedly in this presentation. Such linkages are currently weak in most rural development projects. A major reason for this is that a great deal of inter-agency jealousy exists and there are major practical problems in any one agency trying to take the lead. Colombia has made particularly promising progress in this respect with regard to the various agencies involved in agricultural development and has appointed an inter-agency co-ordinator. However, this still does not overcome the need for much closer linkages with agencies in education, health and social welfare fields. This is a very important issue that can only be finally resolved at the national level. A step in this direction can be taken by project staff at the local levels if they seek the co-operation and collaboration of representatives of other agencies in the area.
- 10) In view of the intense pressure to develop the rural sector in most parts of Latin America another important issue is to define how a rural development program can be started in the absence of any tested technology suitable for a project area. Many governments are not willing to accept that after making the decision to go ahead with this type of project it may require at least one year of training and two years of field work before any worthwhile results at all can be seen. Colombia is confronted with this problem in that with its earliest project barely two years old and with a very limited number of appropriately trained staff, political pressure exists for the establishment of 75-100 of these projects in a very short period of time.
- 11) Rural development projects inspired by Puebla have been sponsored mainly by agencies with agronomic expertise but with limited experience in production economics and other social science fields. It is important that the production strategy which is developed in rural development projects is based not only on physical productivity but also in terms of profitability and acceptability. This means that agronomic work should be undertaken in the light

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of a prior survey and evaluation of present practices in a project area and from a socio-economic point of view. The agronomic recommendations which maximize production of one crop may not be acceptable to farmers or may not maximize income in an associated cropping pattern.

- 12) A point of considerable concern in relation to small farm development projects is that of how farmers can be persuaded to participate in and to take some of the responsibility for project activities. Clearly politicians and civil servants alone cannot solve all the problems of small farm agriculture. They can help to provide the institutional framework for improving the conditions of the small farmer, and this may be a legitimate "social welfare-community development" function of the government. Where success has been achieved it has been very closely associated with outstanding leadership both at the technological and at the farm level. While the Puebla experience has indicated an approach that is apparently successful in training and motivating technologists to work in this type of program, there has been less understanding of how to generate participation on the part of farmers themselves.

The development of a strong farmer organization appears to be one way of getting at the problem. This necessitates some form of group structure and various projects are employing different approaches to this problem. Probably one of the most successful is that used at Puebla itself where credit is distributed through farm groups who are collectively responsible for any defaults in the payment. The need for a group structure is also emphasized by the limited number of farmers that the project staff can visit in the difficult terrain in which most of these small-farm projects operate. In the absence of any type of group contact, it is unlikely that the field staff of a project will be able to contact more than a limited number of the farmers in an area. A further fundamental long term aspect of this problem lies in a whole new approach to the question of rural education. Simple rote memorization of the alphabet, multiplication tables, the history of the country and a religious doctrine does not equip the peasant to understand alternative modes of production or to pursue other alternatives. However, a changed approach to rural education presents many problems, most of which lie outside the field of responsibility and action of the agency responsible for agricultural development. This leads us right back once more to the fact that without strong governmental leadership

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and co-ordination, the likelihood of success in rural development programs is very limited and no amount of foreign credit or technical assistance is going to make much difference unless there is some sort of central support, leadership and co-ordination.

- 13) At the international level there is considerable room for dialogue in defining the role of foreign aid. In the past this "aid" has consisted largely of advisers who have brought a technology and approach ready-made which has often failed to meet the needs of the target situation. Evidence suggests that more and more the appropriate technology needs to arise from within Latin America and not to be superimposed from without. Within this framework the precise role for external support needs re-examination which subject in itself deserves a complete paper.

#### IV. On Motivation in Rural Development Projects.

If the above discussion gives an inordinately negative impression in presenting some of the needs and shortcomings of integrated rural development projects it is not intended to do so. The number of organizations, services, and people involved and necessary to develop a rural area is very large. The idea of a neatly packaged pilot project where detailed plans are made and then applied by a well-trained team under the direction of a competent highly trained (often foreign) leader does not apply. This kind of research is somewhat analogous to the well-kept experimental farm where experiments are carried out in conditions far from those experienced by small farmers. Real lasting development must be a home-grown affair, and this is where the existing Rural Development Projects in Latin America are trying something innovative and new.

Farmers must have something to be motivated about in order to advance and for the most part incentives must come from outside their localized traditional economic system. Motivation and understanding is necessary on at least 3 levels: 1) at the directive level involving political, academic, and civil service directors, each in their own responsibilities; 2) at a middle level where professionals and rural development project team members function and relate to people in other institutions working in the community in agriculture, credit, health, education, local politics, rural public utilities, etc; and, 3) at the farm level where farm families once given incentives which are truly relevant to their present context of experience are more likely to innovate and improve their wellbeing through one or another of the alternatives offered by the above institutions. It seems to me that "problems of motivation" are, in many cases, more aptly problems of providing adequate incentives.

The distinction between motivating farmers and providing them with incentives may appear to be a minor one but it is important. The former point of view puts stress on an outside agent acting on the farmer to motivate him or push him into doing something. The latter view assumes the farmer is capable of doing something on his own and that he is prepared to be responsible for his own actions. There is a form of continuing paternalism in the former and a more mature supportive attitude in the latter. If the farmer tries something new and experiences success, he should be encouraged to feel that it was his success due to his own decisions and his own efforts. The key to the El Salvador success in increasing corn production, in spite of the marketing failure, revolved around one man, an ex-priest, who was able to convince rural people that they could do something on their own by organizing co-operatives and requiring each one to make a commitment in monetary terms in order to form or join a group.

Rural development projects in Latin America are presently oriented strongly toward increasing agricultural production and thereby income. In this way, a rural development project team can help set in motion forces which will provide the beginning of a dynamic development process.

None of this will come all at once or very fast since the whole structure of rural organizational relationships is involved. In Colombia, as an example, lessons learned during the initial process of project development are only now beginning to contribute to a restructuring in ICA (Instituto Colombiano Agropecuario), the sponsoring institution. A change in emphasis is beginning away from a large farm oriented organization and a North American extension service type program. Some leaders and a number of field staff are moving toward a type of program more deeply involved in reaching small farmers, understanding their needs and developing relevant agronomic recommendations and support activities which will help them improve their production capabilities and their standard of living. The inter-relationships between research activities, training activities and development results have been recognized and programs are presently being organized to take advantage of the unique opportunities afforded by the rural development projects to prepare prospective team members in the methodology and philosophy of integrated development programs.

Integrated rural development projects are attempts at a very basic level to come to grips with some of the worst forms of poverty experienced by Latin American small farmers. Their initial goal is to provide ways in which small farmers, to some extent through their own efforts, can achieve certain minimum consumption standards in terms of nutrition, education, health and housing.

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Much has been learned in all of these experiments which can be useful in further attempts at rural and agricultural development. The principal lesson is that rural development is a dynamic process and it is this process and its various components which should be the object of research and experimentation. If the process is understood, techniques can be developed or discovered to hasten and ease this evolution. Where these discoveries are the result of professionals working with small farmers and helping them to find solutions to their own problems, the impact is likely to be much greater and more firmly rooted than anything introduced from outside the actual rural system and extraneous to it. A central theme in all these activities is that development is for people and involves people. Development is not only for the farmers but for the professionals and directors as well.



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